

Spring 2011

INS 367Q

The Historical Roots of American Imperialism

Instructor:	Roger E. Kanet	Class:	Tu, Th, 12:30-1:45 p.m.
Office Hours:	11:00-12:20, Tu, Th	Place:	Memorial Building, Room 112
	At by appointment		
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Course Objectives:

Soon after the murderous attacks of 11 September 2001 former President George W. Bush – and many others in the United States – posed the question, “Why do they hate us?” His response was that “They hate . . . a democratically elected government. . . . They hate our freedoms -- our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other. . . . These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life.”¹ Unfortunately, the answer to the question that Bush posed is not as simple as that and relates much more than he and other Americans are willing to admit to the nature of the foreign policy behavior of the United States, not to how Americans organize themselves at home. The terrorists associated with al Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden focus their hatred on U.S. involvement in the Middle East – on the U.S. military presence in the region, on the close relationship between the United States and Israel, and now on U.S. military operations in both Afghanistan and Iraq.

While Americans view themselves as generous and supportive of others, as “a beacon of democracy” that has helped pull millions around the world out of poverty and liberated them from tyranny, much of the rest of the world has a quite different view of the United States. They recall the ethnic cleansing and aggressive expansion associated with “manifest destiny.” They recall the overthrow of legitimate governments from Hawaii, Nicaragua, Honduras, Iran, Guatemala, and elsewhere for the benefit of American business interests and the ensuing long-term exploitation and tyranny that usually followed. They remember the domination of their economies by American corporations and note the presence of the American military on all the continents of the earth. In other words, there is a serious disconnect between the image that Americans have of themselves and that which many others have of them.

The reason for this disconnect derives mainly from the fact that the story that we tell ourselves about our origins and history has been fabricated in such a way as to focus on the positives and to purge the elements that might be viewed as negative. “Our ancestors came to America seeking freedom,” goes the story, “and succeeded in building a society superior to anything that humans had managed to construct anywhere else.” The fact that the land that they took was already occupied by others and that a 300-year campaign of conquest ensued is brushed aside. The fact that much of the wealth that was created resulted from the resources expropriated from the indigenous population and from

¹ President George W. Bush, “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People,” United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., September 20, 2001.
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>

the exploitation of slaves at home and, later, from resources from around the world that were acquired in large part through a form of imperial expansion go unrecognized.

The purpose of this course will be to “fill in the blanks” in American history -- to demonstrate that, much as other states, the United States has defined and pursued its interests in ways that often ignored and brushed aside, or overwhelmed, the interests and rights of others. Contrary to the story that we tell ourselves about an inward-looking and isolationist United States in the first century of existence, we will note that American leaders -- while staying out of international affairs in Europe, when at the beginning at least they were a weak and marginal player -- were from the very outset willing to seize what they wanted, when possible, first on the North American continent and then, by the end of the 19th century, in the Caribbean and its environs and across the Pacific. By the beginning of the 20th century the United States was a full-fledged imperial power, with colonies from the western Atlantic to the western Pacific. Although those colonies achieved independence in the post World War II period, the United States has continued to pursue and maintain a global dominant position – one that many would call imperial – in the years of the Cold War and since the collapse of the former Soviet Union at the end of 1991.

The purpose of the course will not be to pass moral judgments concerning U.S. policy. Rather it will be to set the record straight, to demonstrate that the United States has a history that parallels that of other great imperial powers which have pursued their interests at the expense of others, and, finally, to point out that, the American people’s views of themselves as “innocents” notwithstanding, the United States has a long history of expansion, domination and exploitation of other peoples and their resources. This history, no doubt, lies in part, at least, at the root of the anti-American attitudes that exist today throughout much of the world. Other sources of that hostility can be found in envy, misunderstanding, and other factors; but past and current American behavior is a central component.

SEMESTER ASSIGNMENTS

- A. Reading assignments** are listed in the course outline. Since the course will be conducted as a manner to encourage student involvement, students will be expected to have read the reading assignments prior to class sessions. This will enable them to follow and engage in the discussion. All students will be required to submit **in the first class session** for each topic area a **statement (maximum two pages)** outlining the key issues/arguments covered in the readings. Late papers will not be accepted. Class participation [which presumes on-time attendance in class] and the summary papers will count as *twenty-five percent* of the course grade. Students should be reminded that these brief papers will be an important measure of the participation portion of the course grade and will comprise about one-eighth of the course grade.
- B. A major paper**, which is due **in class on 28 April 2011** (late papers will be downgraded) should be fifteen to twenty typewritten pages in length (double-spaced) [twenty-five-thirty pages for those receiving honors credit]. Each student should write a paper that deals with some aspect of American foreign policy – with an emphasis on expansion, on formal colonialism, on imperial control, nationalism, and related topics. Regardless of the topic selected, the student should deal with it **analytically**, not merely descriptively. This means that the paper should address a specific **question and develop and support an argument**. It should draw upon and cite the relevant literature.

Papers must be submitted in standard research paper format--i.e. title page, notes either at the bottom of the page or at the end of the paper, and a bibliography. Use the format given below for both notes and bibliography. It is assumed that due attention will be given to such concerns as spelling, grammar, appropriate word selection and neatness! Although primary consideration in evaluating the paper will be placed on content, logic of the argumentation, and evidence, stylistic concerns (i.e. spelling, grammar, syntax, etc.) will also be taken into account.

As part of the paper project, students will be required to submit a one- or two-page **proposal** concerning the paper **in class on 24 February 2011**. The proposal should identify the topic, outline the key issues to be treated, indicate how those issues relate to central concerns of theoretical importance, and indicate the most relevant source materials already consulted for the project.

In class on 5 April 2011 students will submit a **five-page**, typewritten and double-spaced, **précis/outline** of the general argument of their research papers. [These papers will be returned several days later, so that students can take the instructor's comments into account in writing the final version of the paper.] This presentation and paper should summarize the basic argument of the paper, but need not provide the detailed evidence that will be employed in the final paper to support the argument. These presentations will be evaluated on the basis of the clarity of the argument, the presentation of supporting evidence, the effectiveness of the presentation, etc. [Students will provide the instructor and other members of the class with outlines of the presentation, preferably electronically, by noon the day before class.] This paper will be graded as a part of the entire research paper project. The presentation is expected to be "polished" and to provide the audience with a clear view of the student's project and her/his findings.

C. Examinations

There will be one mid-term written examination on **10 March 2011**. The examination will cover all material dealt with in the course to that point. This exam will comprise *fifteen percent* of the course grade.

There will also be a final written examination scheduled during the regular final exam period, **11:00 a.m.-1:30 p.m., Wednesday, 11 May 2011**. Additional information will be provided about the examination, which will comprise *twenty percent* of the course grade.

D. Grading: **Twenty-five percent** of the grade for the course will be determined by a combination of class attendance, class participation and the weekly papers. **Forty percent** of the grade for the course will be based on the major research paper, including the one-page statement [5 percent], the five-page précis [20 percent], and the final paper [75 percent]. All papers are due on the dates listed and will be downgraded, if late. An **additional thirty-five percent** of the grade will be determined by a mid-term examination [15 percent] and a final examination [20 percent].

E. Course Rules and Honor Code:

1. Academic honesty: All work for this course must be the student's own. Please refer to the Student Handbook for the University of Miami Undergraduate Honor Code. That Code binds all students. By enrolling in this course you pledge to abide by the ethical academic standards listed in the above document. Anyone guilty of academic dishonesty will fail the course. One of the most common sources of problems arises in the failure to indicate sources used in completing requirements. Students are guilty of plagiarism, intentional or not, if they copy material from books, magazines, or other sources without identifying and acknowledging them. Students guilty of, or assisting others in, either cheating or plagiarism on an assignment, quiz, or examination may receive a grade of F for the course involved and may be referred to the University Honor Code. In short, all ideas that are not your own or are not part of "common wisdom" should be footnoted. A general rule is that, if the information cannot be found in three or more commonly available sources, it should be referenced. All direct quotations must be placed in quotation marks. These

- guidelines will be enforced. If you are unsure whether or not to footnote, err on the side of caution and footnote. For additional information on this and related matters see the guidelines on writing that follow the syllabus timetable.
2. Arrive in class and *be seated BEFORE 2:00 o'clock!*
 3. In the classroom please *turn off cell-phones and beepers and remove your hats.*
 4. Only in the most serious of circumstances [serious personal illness, family emergency, travel for unavoidable university business] will the primary instructor grant permission – which must be obtained in advance – to delay the due date for an assignment. This is especially true of examinations.
 5. Students may request the instructor to reassess exam questions that they believe have been inaccurately evaluated. Requests for re-evaluation must be submitted to the instructor in writing [including via e-mail] within a week after the examinations are returned to students. The written statement must suggest and defend the grade that the student believes he/she deserves. The instructor reserves the right to reassess the entire examination, not merely a single question, in such a situation.
 6. The professor is interested in helping you master the course materials. Your questions and comments in class are strongly encouraged in class. Also, you are encouraged to take advantage of office hours to raise questions about materials covered in the course or about other matters. Also, e-mail is a wonderful way to pose questions and share materials; please be sure that you provide your current e-mail address.
 7. Copies of the syllabus and on occasion other materials related to the course will be available on Blackboard.

F. Required Reading Assignments

Reserve copies of the books listed below will be available at the undergraduate reserve desk in Richter Library. They will also be available for purchase at the University of Miami Bookstore. Students may also wish to purchase copies of the books on line. For example, Barnes and Noble [www.bn.com] and Amazon [www.amazon.com], usually deliver materials within a week of ordering. Usually one or other of these on-line stores has used copies of books at substantially reduced cost. Note that for orders of new books valued at more than \$25.00 neither Barnes and Noble nor Amazon charges a delivery fee. Another location that usually provides information about lower prices for books is Textbookland [<http://www.textbookland.com/>]. It will probably be easiest to find books on the Textbookland website using the ISBN number, which I have included below for each book. Both Barnes and Nobles and Amazon also have used books available – usually at greatly reduced prices, even with the delivery charge of ca. \$3.00 per book.. Delivery of these books usually takes about 10-12 days. Note that several of the titles are out of print and available only as used books.

In addition to these books, a number of additional readings will be available on electronic reserve through Blackboard.

Books on Reserve and Available for Purchase at the UM Bookstore

- Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003. X, 302 pp. ISBN: 0-674-01375-1
- Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*. New York: Times Books, Henry Hold and Co., 2006. Viii, 385 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8050-8240-S1.
- Walter Nugent, *Habits of Empire: A History of American Expansion*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 2008. Xvii, 387 pp. ISBN: 978-1-4000-4292-0
- Thomas G. Patterson, *et al.*, *American Foreign Relations: A History. Volume I, to 1920*. 6th edn. Boston-New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005. Xv, 346 pp. ISBN: 0-618-37071-4
- Thomas G. Patterson, *et al.*, *American Foreign Relations: A History. Volume II, Since 1895*. 6th edn. Boston-New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005. Xvii, 574 pp. ISBN: 0-618-37073-0

Materials on Electronic Reserve

- Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1975. Pp. 3-31, 146-170, 298-326. ISBN: 0-393-00830-4.
- Robert Kagan, "Dangerous Nation," *International Politics*, vol. 45, no. 4 (2008), pp. 403-12.
- Roger E. Kanet, "U.S. Strategy for the Twenty-first Century," in Edward A. Kolodziej and Roger E. Kanet, eds., *From Superpower to Besieged Global Power: Restoring World Order after the Failure of the Bush Doctrine*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008 pp. 338-362.
- Edward A. Kolodziej and Roger E. Kanet, eds., *From Superpower to Besieged Global Power: Restoring World Order After the Failure of the Bush Doctrine*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008. pp. xvii-xxiii, 3-30, 137-198, 299-364. ISBN: 978-0-8203-3074-7
- Christopher Layne, *The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006. pp. 1-38, 193-205, 207-217, 278-282. ISBN: 978-0-8014-3713-7
- Charles C. Mann, "Frequently Asked Questions," ch. 4 of *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 2005, pp. 97-133. ISBN -40000-4006-X:

G. Course Outline and Required Readings:

- 18** **1. Introduction: The Foundations of American Imperialism [105 pp.]**
Jan. Kagan, "Dangerous Nation," pp. 403-412 [electronic reserve]
 Kinzer, *Overthrow*, pp. 1-8
 Layne, *The Peace of Illusions*, pp. 1-38, 193-217 [electronic reserve]
- 20, 25** **2. The Rape of the Americas before the Revolution [158 pp.]**
Jan. Jennings, *The Invasion of America*, pp. 3-31, 146-170, 298-326 [electronic reserve]
 Mann, *1491*, pp. 97-133 [electronic reserve]
 Patterson *et al.*, *American Foreign Relations*, I, pp. xi-xv, 1-38
- 27 Jan.** **3. American Expansion from the Revolution to Jackson [291]**
1, 3 Febr. Kagan, *Dangerous Nation*, pp. 39-156
 Nugent, *Habits of Empire*, pp. iii-xvii, 1-129
 Patterson *et al.*, *American Foreign Relations*, I, pp. 39-82
- 8, 10, 15** **4. Slavery and the Politics of Manifest Destiny [181]**
Febr. Nugent, *Habits of Empire*, p. 130-236
 Patterson *et al.*, *American Foreign Relations*, I, pp. 83-157
- 17** **Discussion of Research Paper topics**
Febr.
- 22, 24 Feb.** **4. The Creation of Overseas Empire [299 pp.]**
1 March Kinzer, *Overthrow*, pp. 9-110
 Nugent, *Habits of Empire*, pp. 237-317
 Patterson *et al.*, *American Foreign Relations*, I, pp. 158-196
- 24 Febr.** **First written paper due in class**
- 3, 8** **5. From Wilsonianism to World War II [210]**
Mar. Patterson *et al.*, *American Foreign Relations*, I, pp. 197-302
 Patterson *et al.*, *American Foreign Relations*, II, pp. 106-171
- 10 March** **Mid-term examination**
- 12-20 March** **Spring Break**
- 22, 24, 29** **6. Cold War Containment and the Rise of the American Empire [249 pp.]**

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- Mar.** Kinzer, *Overthrow*, pp. 111-216
Patterson *et al.*, *American Foreign Relations*, II, pp. 172-316
- 31 March** **7. From Détente to the End of the Cold War [187 pp.]**
5, 7 April Kinzer, *Overthrow*, pp. 219-258
Patterson *et al.*, *American Foreign Relations*, II, pp. 316-460
- 5 April** **The second written paper is due in class**
- 12, 14, 19** **8. Imperial America: Unilateralism and Hegemony [245 pp.]**
Apr. Bacevich, *American Empire*, pp. vii-ix, 1-117
Kinzer, *Overthrow*, pp. 260-322
Patterson *et al.* *American Foreign Relations*, II, 460-516
- 21, 26** **9. The United States as Besieged Global Power [247 pp]**
Apr. Bacevich, *American Empire*, pp. 117-246
Kanet, "U.S. Strategy," pp. 332-362 [electronic reserve]
Kolodziej-Kanet, *From Superpower to Besieged Global Power* pp. xvii-xxiii, 3-30, 299-364
[electronic reserve]
- 28 April** **Catch-up and/or Review**
- 28 April** **Final Research paper due in class**
- 30 April to Reading Days**
3 May
- 11 May, Wed. Final Examination**
11:00 a.m.-1:30 p.m.

H. Guidelines for Research Paper²

The paper should deal with some aspect of American foreign policy – with an emphasis on expansion, imperial control, nationalism, and related topics. Regardless of the topic selected, the student should deal with it **analytically**, not merely descriptively. This means that the paper should address a specific **question and develop and support an argument**. It should draw upon and cite the relevant literature.

1. Format of the Paper

The paper should stay within the page limits listed above [12-point type with standard margins]; it should be formatted in standard research paper form -- i.e. including reference notes (either at the bottom of the page or at the end of the paper -- not "scientific notation") and a bibliography. The format listed below **should be used** for both notes and bibliography.

2. Essay/Paper Style Sheet

² Note that the "Guidelines for Written Papers" are based on a document [available at <http://arapaho.nsuok.edu/~alexa001/STYLE02.pdf>] prepared by two of Kanet's former graduate students, James T. Alexander, then of Northeastern State University (Oklahoma) and Brian V. Souders, of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County; it is used here with their permission.

Writing clear and concise English is a skill that will benefit you throughout life. I do take good writing seriously and enjoy reading papers written in clear, correct English. It is a joy to read clear sentences that have both subjects and verbs, that do not sprinkle commas around at random, and that realize that English language plural nouns do not use apostrophes. The short amount of time that you take editing your paper will catch most of the mistakes that drive teachers crazy.

Students who have difficulties with rhetoric are encouraged to purchase William Strunk, Jr. and E. B. White, *The Elements of Style*. New York: Macmillan, 1999. 4th edn. To ensure that you understand when and how to provide references for materials used you should consult Gordon Harvey, *Writing with Sources: A Guide for Students*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2002, or a similar source. These two guides should prove to be useful throughout your entire career as a student, as well as later in life.

Please note that this style document is briefly and generically written. It neither covers all situations, nor is it intended for just one type of writing assignment. Specifically pay attention to the citation guidelines, for all parts may not apply to a particular assignment.

If you want to avoid some common problems, read the following rules carefully:

- 1) **Never use contractions.** If you are going to use 'don't' and 'can't,' you may as well write 'gonna' and 'coulda.' Contractions are markers of casual speech in written form. Use the forms 'do not' and 'cannot.'
- 2) **Make certain that all sentences have both a subject and a verb.** Sentence fragments are sentences that are missing either a subject or a verb. "A man who had traveled all over the country and lived in many states" is not a sentence, since it has no verb. The man is not doing anything, since there is no verb in this sentence. Careful editing will pick up mistakes like this one.
- 3) **Pronouns need antecedents.** Never start a paragraph with a sentence such as, "They created a Congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Commons." The reader has no idea who 'they' are. If you use a definite pronoun (he, she, it or they) or indefinite pronouns (this, that, these or those), be certain that these pronouns refer back to some concrete noun.
- 4) **Introductory participial phrases modify the subject of the main clause of the sentence.** "Waiting for the train to arrive, it became clear that I was going to be late" is incorrect. In this case the participle "waiting" modifies the subject "it" grammatically. In fact, it is meant to modify an implied "I." The sentence must be restructured.
- 5) **Word processors have spell check for a reason.** Every word processing program has some sort of spell checking system. **USE IT;** but use it carefully. You might also consider using the grammar check function that many word processing programs now contain. Remember to proofread your final copy, because spell check cannot pick up mistakes like 'tot he' instead of 'to the,' or "two" rather than "to" or "too." Grammar check may have even a greater risk of error, although it can still be useful. Therefore, be careful, as you use these tools.
- 6) **Use the right form of the word.** The English language is filled with dozens of spelling land mines, words that sound the same but are spelled in three or four different ways. These homonyms still cause people problems. The worst offenders that teachers find are:

there - an adverb denoting place
their - a possessive adjective for the pronoun 'they'
they're - a contraction for 'they are,' which you should not use anyway

its - a possessive adjective for the pronoun 'it'

it's - a contraction for 'it is,' which you should not use anyway Note: its' is not a word in the English language.

- 7) **Punctuation is not for decoration.** Commas are not thrown into sentences at random. The English language has rules for the use of commas. Learn these rules and follow them. The same holds true for semi-colons, colons and other forms of punctuation. Any large dictionary and most pocket dictionaries have brief reference sections on the proper use of punctuation.
- 8) **Have someone else read your paper.** When you have spent thirty hours working on a paper, the last thing you want to do is look at it one last time to see if everything is spelled correctly. Also, it is hard to identify errors if you have become too involved in the paper. Have someone else look at your paper to pick out any mistakes you may have missed. Failing this, try reading the paper aloud. You can often hear and spot grammar and spelling errors in this fashion.
- 8) **Consistently cite your sources.** You must properly cite your source if you use an idea or quote from another's work. For citing sources (footnotes or endnotes) in research papers, I prefer that you use the following style:
- 9) **Wikipedia is NOT an acceptable source.** Although convenient and often useful as a guide to primary sources, this is not an acceptable peer-reviewed source.

a. Bibliography:

All entries should be listed in alphabetical order, last name first, using the following format:

1) **Periodical article:**

Hough, Jerry F., "The End of Russia's 'Khomeini' Period," **World Policy Journal**, IV, no. 4 (1987), pp. 583-604.

Some journals do not employ volume numbers, others do not employ consecutive pagination within an entire volume. This format can be adjusted to the former by excluding the volume number, and presents no problem for the latter situation.

2) **Article in an edited book:**

Sodaro, Michael, "The GDR and the Third World: Suppliant and Surrogate," in **Eastern Europe and the Third World: East vs. South**, ed. by Michael Radu. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981, pp. 106-141.

3) **Authored book:**

Brutents, Karen N., **National Liberation Revolutions Today**. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977.

4) **Edited book:**

Korbonski, Andrzej and Francis Fukuyama, eds., **The Soviet Union and the Third World: The Last Three Decades**. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987.

5) **Newspaper article:**

Forrestal, Michael and Allen Lynch, "New Views Behind Moscow's Flexible New Diplomacy," **The Christian Science Monitor**, October 13, 1987, p. 15.

6) **Miscellaneous publication:**

Some items do not fit easily into any of the categories listed above. You should adapt the format to fit the item. For example, pamphlets can usually be treated as books.

7) **Translated material:**

For translated materials, full publication information should be provided for both the original and the translation source: e.g., **Pravda**, date, p.?; translated in **Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press**, vol. ?, no. ?, date, p. ?.

8) Internet material:

These materials should be treated as publications. Full information concerning the source should be given., so that the reader will be in a position to find it. In the case of “reprinted” materials, both the original and the internet source should be given: e.g., “Yeltsin Administration Upbeat On Outgoing Year,” Moscow, 30 December 1997, *Interfax*; available on *Johnson's Russia List* #1453, 30 December 1997 davidjohnson@erols.com . “Russia, China Sign Nuclear Deal,” *RFE/RL Newsline*, Vol. 1, No. 187, Part I, 30 December 1997 <http://www.rferl.org/newsline> . Since you cannot cite pages for internet sources, you should be especially careful to provide proper link information and dates when accessed.

9) Unpublished material:

Specific information should be provided about the source of unpublished material, such as interviews, letters, and other documents. The name of the interviewee, the date and place of the interview should be provided. Letters and other documents should be treated in similar fashion. In all cases information concerning the current location of the material should be provided.